

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will now return to legislative session.

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY,
FEBRUARY 12, 1998

Mr. ROBERTS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 9:30 a.m. on Thursday, February 12, and immediately following the prayer, the routine requests through the morning hour be granted, and the Senate immediately begin a period for the transaction for morning business until 2 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each, with the following exceptions:

Senator NICKLES, 20 minutes; Senator DOMENICI, 45 minutes; Senator BYRD, 1 hour; Senator THOMAS, 10 minutes; Senator ALLARD, 20 minutes; Senator DORGAN, 1 hour; Senator MURKOWSKI, 20 minutes; Senator JEFFORDS, 5 minutes; Senator GRAMM, 30 minutes; Senator JOHNSON, 10 minutes, and Senator BAUCUS for 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PROGRAM

Mr. ROBERTS. Madam President, tomorrow morning, as previously ordered, the Senate will be in morning business until 2 o'clock. Following morning business, the Senate may proceed to any legislative or executive business cleared for action. Therefore, votes are possible during Thursday's session of the Senate.

Mr. BAUCUS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Montana.

Mr. BAUCUS. Might I ask that the 30 minutes allotted to me be immediately following Senator DOMENICI?

Mr. ROBERTS. I inform the distinguished Senator from Montana that the order right now is Senator NICKLES for 20 minutes, Senator DOMENICI for 45 minutes, and Senator BYRD for 1 hour.

Mr. BAUCUS. I ask unanimous consent that I may follow Senator BYRD for 30 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. ROBERTS. Madam President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order, following the remarks by my distinguished colleague from Delaware, Senator BIDEN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Delaware is recognized.

NATO ENLARGEMENT

Mr. BIDEN. Madam President, I am pleased to report a very historic event

that occurred today at the State Department at about 12 noon. The President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Vice President, and the Foreign Ministers of the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary, were in attendance. At this event, the President signed an amendment to the Washington treaty—the NATO treaty—that has been or will shortly be delivered to the Senate asking that the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland become full members of NATO. This ceremony at the State Department completed the formal transmission from the President to this body for its advice and consent of the protocols of accession of those three countries into NATO.

It was pointed out to me by the Vice President, as we were leaving the State Department ceremony, that it was this very day upon which the Yalta Conference ended some 50 years ago. It seems to me incredible that it is happening, but also that it has taken this long for to us rectify a serious historical error. At the ceremony, there were a number of things stated about why this was so important.

We are moving very quickly this session to a momentous vote addressing America's security interests in Europe, which will not only affect us, but the next several generations of Americans. I refer to the addition of new allies to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Recognizing that the protocols would be referred to the Foreign Relations Committee for its review.

The committee, under Chairman HELMS' leadership, has been holding a series of comprehensive hearings since October on the pros and cons of enlarging NATO.

Beginning with Secretary of State Albright, we heard testimony from senior Clinton administration and former executive branch officers, retired ambassadors and generals, and distinguished academics and foreign policy experts—most in favor of, but some in opposition to expansion.

The Committee also invited public testimony from all citizens concerned with this issue, welcoming veterans groups, scholars, and representatives of the American Baltic, Central and East European, and Jewish communities. Opinion among all witnesses ran four to one in favor of embracing the Poles, Hungarians, and Czechs as NATO allies.

With the Protocols now in hand, the Committee will hold one more hearing with Secretary of State Albright, Secretary of Defense Cohen, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Shelton on February 24.

The following week, the Committee is expected to markup and vote on the Resolution of Ratification. I anticipate that the Committee will overwhelmingly recommend consideration of the Resolution by the full Senate. The Majority Leader has indicated that consideration should begin in March, after action on campaign finance reform.

Mr. President, rather than giving a detailed statement now on the many benefits to America of NATO enlargement, I wish only to enunciate a few central themes upon which I will expand as Senate consideration of these vital protocols approaches.

The first thesis is that, as NATO's leader, America must ensure the Alliance moves beyond its Cold War mission. The status quo is tantamount to declaring NATO a non-performing asset.

Internally, NATO is already adapting to address different threats to peace, now that a massive military strike from the East is highly unlikely. The Alliance is placing smaller, smarter, more mobile forces under a streamlined command system with a new strategic concept. This will allow rapid action, including beyond the borders of NATO, such as our current mission in Bosnia.

Enlargement is part of NATO's external transformation. This transformation is designed to widen the zone of stability, deter new threats of ethnic conflict, eliminate new divisions or "zones of influence," and promote common action against weapons proliferation and transfer, terrorism, and organized crime. NATO's open door to expansion helps provide the confidence and inspiration for continued democratization and economic development in the former Soviet States and in Eastern and Central Europe.

Admission of new allies is the most solemn in the spectrum of new security relationships NATO has undertaken throughout Europe and the former Soviet Union, since the admission of Spain, and prior to that, Germany, Greece and Turkey. In addition, NATO has developed unique partnerships with Russia and Ukraine, and has drawn former adversaries into a web of cooperation through what we refer to as the Partnership for Peace and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council.

The second thesis that I will be expounding on at a later time is that the costs of enlargement are real but manageable, and represent a bargain for the American people in terms of our security.

NATO's own study of the Polish, Hungarian, and Czech contributions to our common defense rates them well worth the ten-year, one-and-a-half billion dollar price tag. The U.S. share in this price will be roughly four hundred million dollars over ten years, or about forty million dollars per year.

Most importantly, Secretary of State Albright noted in her testimony, that our Allies stated at the last NATO summit that the resources for enlargement will be found and that she will ensure that our allies pay their fair share—a very important requirement to be met in order to gain the support of our colleagues in the Senate.

In the long-run, America has always found that common defense is cheaper defense. This is true certainly in financial, but even more so in the far more

precious human resources the sixty million people and two hundred thousand troops Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic bring to our common security. This is not a question of whether the U.S. will trade Warsaw for Washington, or Budapest for Buffalo, but rather that the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians are willing to assume the front line in America's forward defense of its shores.

The third thesis is that our relations with Russia remain solid, productive, and cooperative, notwithstanding enlargement. Prophets of backlash have been disproven.

Although few Russians are fond of NATO enlargement, policymakers in Moscow have accepted it. Moreover, no Russian with whom I met in Moscow—from Communist leader Zyuganov, to liberal leader Yavlinsky, to the nationalist retired General Lebed—believed that NATO enlargement constitutes a security threat to Russia.

We have seen Russia ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention, renew efforts to ratify START II, send troops under overall U.S. command to implement peace in Bosnia, and work smoothly with NATO as an organization in the new Russia-NATO Permanent Joint Council.

But ultimately, Russia must understand that it has no veto over NATO actions, nor over the right of former Soviet satellites to freely choose their defense arrangements. I believe their actions demonstrate that they have come to terms—however grudgingly—with this fact.

My fourth thesis is a caution. The consequences of a failure to embrace the Poles, Hungarians, and Czechs as new allies would be a disaster.

This century has taught us that when Central Europeans are divorced from Western institutions of common defense, they are vulnerable to pressure and control by the great powers around them, and susceptible to insidious suspicions of their neighbors' intentions. This forces them to nationalize their defense policies, creating tension and instability.

Here, I would like to quote from Dr. Henry Kissinger's testimony to the Foreign Relations Committee on this very point. Dr. Kissinger's testimony to the Foreign Relations Committee on this very point was very, very enlightening, I thought.

Kissinger warned: Basing European and Atlantic security on a no man's land between Germany and Russia runs counter to all historical experience, especially that of the interwar period. It would bring about two categories of frontiers in Europe, those that are potentially threatened but not guaranteed, and those that are guaranteed but not threatened. If America were to act to the defend the Oder [between Germany and Poland] but not the Vistula [in Poland], 200 miles to the east, the credibility of all the existing NATO guarantees would be gravely weakened.

Madam President, I will close with a fifth and final thesis, and it is a moral one.

For 40 years, the United States loudly proclaimed its solidarity with the captive nations of Central and Eastern Europe who were under the heel of communist oppressors. Now that most of them have cast off their shackles, it is our responsibility, in my view, to live up to our pledges to readmit them into the West through NATO and the European Union as they qualify.

Just as NATO enlargements embraced Turkey, Greece, and West Germany several years before the European Union's precursors were yet in existence, so we should not hesitate to accept Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic now, even before their accession to the European Union.

The habits of cooperation created by NATO membership can only help these nations as they prepare for economic integration into Europe and the West.

I thank the Chair for listening and I yield the floor.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 9:30 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands adjourned until 9:30 a.m. tomorrow.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 6:50 p.m., adjourned until Thursday, February 12, 1998, at 9:30 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 11, 1998:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

DEBORAH K. KILMER, OF IDAHO, TO BE AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, VICE JANE BOBBITT, RESIGNED.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RICHARD H. DEANE, JR., OF GEORGIA, TO BE UNITED STATES ATTORNEY FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS VICE KENT BARRON ALEXANDER, RESIGNED.

RANDALL DEAN ANDERSON, OF UTAH, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE DISTRICT OF UTAH FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS, VICE DANIEL C. DOTSON, RETIRED.

DANIEL C. BYRNE, OF NEW YORK, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS VICE MICHAEL A. PIZZI, RESIGNED.

BRIAN SCOTT ROY, OF KENTUCKY, TO BE UNITED STATES MARSHAL FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY FOR THE TERM OF FOUR YEARS, VICE CHARLES WILLIAM LOGSDON, RESIGNED.

THE JUDICIARY

CHESTER J. STRAUB, OF NEW YORK, TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT, VICE JOSEPH M. McLAUGHLIN, RETIRED.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

WILLIAM JAMES IVEY, OF TENNESSEE, TO BE CHAIRPERSON OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS FOR A TERM OF FOUR YEARS, VICE JANE ALEXANDER, TERM EXPIRED.

NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD

JAMES E. HALL, OF TENNESSEE, TO BE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SAFETY BOARD FOR A TERM OF TWO YEARS. (REAPPOINTMENT)

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY UNDER TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTION 12203:

To be colonel

CRAIG H. ANDERSON, 0000
LARRY L. ANDERSON, 0000
NORMAN E. ARFLACK, 0000
JAMES P. ARMSTRONG, 0000
JIMMY D. ARMSTRONG, 0000
ROBERT W. ASKEY, 0000
MICHAEL A. BAILEY, 0000
DENNIS E. BANOWETZ, 0000

LONNIE L. BARHAM, 0000
WILLIAM B. BARKER, 0000
JOHN F. BARRY, 0000
JOHN P. BASILICA, 0000
WILLIAM E. BEASLEY, 0000
STEVEN L. BELL, 0000
SHELLEY L. BENNETT, 0000
ROBERT A. BERETTER, 0000
DAN A. BERKEBILE, 0000
JOSE BERRIOS, 0000
WILLIAM J. BERTSCH, 0000
CHARLES D. BETONEY, 0000
MITCHELL T. BISANAR, 0000
ABNER C. BLALOCK, JR., 0000
JIMMY L. BLAND, 0000
JACK P. BOBO, 0000
GEORGE F. BOWDOIN, 0000
LEON C. BOWLIN, 0000
ROBERT A. BRADFORD, 0000
JOHN J. BRAHAM, 0000
DOUGLAS M. BRANTLEY, 0000
ROBERT T. BRAY, 0000
MARTIN T. BREAKER, 0000
DONALD J. BRECEE, 0000
GLENN C. BREITLING, 0000
MANUEL BRILLON-RODRIGUEZ, 0000
RITA M. BROADWAY, 0000
FREDERICK G. BROMM, 0000
CLARENCE D. BROWN, 0000
OTIS BROWN, JR., 0000
ELTON C. BRUCE, 0000
DAVID H. BRUNJES, 0000
JAMES A. BRUNSON, 0000
ELBERT T. BUCK, JR., 0000
CRAIG W. BULKLEY, 0000
PHILLIP R. BURCH, 0000
DAVID P. BURFORD, 0000
MICHAEL T. BURK, 0000
DONALD L. BURNETT, 0000
JAMES L. BURSON, 0000
JOHN L. CAIRER, JR., 0000
TERRY E. CALLAHAN, 0000
WAYNE T. CAMERON, 0000
JULIO CAPOCAPO, 0000
MICHAEL E. CARR, 0000
CASPER CATAUDELLA, 0000
DENNIS L. CELLETTI, 0000
THOMAS E. CHALIFOUX, 0000
STEPHEN E. CHAMBERS, 0000
JAMES E. CHAPMAN, 0000
RONALD L. CHUBB, 0000
RAY D. CLEVEN, 0000
ANTONIO R. COBIAN-MENDEZ, 0000
GILBERT P. COLLINS, 0000
STEPHEN D. COLLINS, 0000
WILLIAM D. COLVIN, 0000
WILLIAM G. CONFER, 0000
REX J. CONNERS, 0000
JOHN K. COOLEY, 0000
BILLIE M. COOPER, 0000
LARRY D. COPELIN, 0000
BILLY J. COSSON, 0000
PAUL D. COSTILOW, 0000
REBECCA A. COULTER, 0000
TERRY R. COUNCIL, 0000
ALLEN D. CRANFORD, 0000
MICHAEL S. CROCKER, 0000
MICHAEL J. CURTIN, 0000
DONNA L. DACIER, 0000
MICHAEL J. DACY, 0000
FRANCIS A. DANIELS, 0000
HAROLD F. DANIELS, 0000
CHARLES H. DAVIDSON, 0000
JOHN T. DAVIS, 0000
MYLES L. DEERING, 0000
PAUL J. DEGATEGNO, 0000
PHILIP M. DEHENNIS, 0000
ROBERT F. DELCAMPO, 0000
MILTON E. DEMORY, 0000
CRAIG W. DEUTSCHENDORF, 0000
GREGORY H. DEVOR, 0000
DAVID L. DICKSON, 0000
RENE DOLDER, 0000
MICHAEL R. DONAGHY, 0000
MARK C. DOW, 0000
ROY L. DRAKE, JR., 0000
MARK W. DUSHNYCK, 0000
WALTER K. DYER, 0000
DONALD E. EBERT, 0000
LESTER D. EISNER, 0000
MARK A. ELLIS, 0000
STEPHEN B. ENGLE, 0000
ROGER D. EVANS, 0000
MICHAEL R. EYRE, 0000
TERRY FOBES, 0000
WILLIAM A. FOLEY, 0000
WILLIAM P. FOSTER, 0000
JULIUS A. FRALEY, 0000
ROBERT P. FRENCH, 0000
WILLIAM J. FULFORD, 0000
JOHN T. FURLOW, 0000
CHARLES L. GABLE, 0000
JOHN D. GAINES, 0000
DAVID D. GAPINSKI, 0000
JAMES P. GARDNER, 0000
JOSEPH E. GARLAND, 0000
STEPHEN F. GARRISON, 0000
ALAN C. GAYHART, SR., 0000
DENNIS GILPATRICK, 0000
HAROLD GLANVILLE, 0000
DAVID E. GOINS, 0000
RONNIE E. GORDON, 0000
MICHAEL A. GORMAN, 0000
PAUL R. GRAMS, 0000
DAVID L. GRAY, 0000
MICHAEL C. GRAY, 0000
MARK S. GRAZIER, 0000